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551 614 ply ɨipa'. The names of two women will illustrate the indirect reference of the remainder; one is named "invisible," referring to the clouds; another, "winding," referring to the wild gourd vines; both clouds and wild gourd being among the ɨipa' totems. Thirty-one men belong to this sib, but only one has a totemic name.

The sib name thus serves as an auxiliary designation for all the women of a sib. Some women have no other personal name. [601] More specifically it is a common term of address used by a man's relatives for his wife. For example, Mrs. Redbird of kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] sib has the personal name nĭk,ĭnk,ĭ'k, "iridescent green" (referring to the totem lizard), but is called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] by her husband's sister. This has its counterpart in the bestowal of a nickname on a husband by his mother-in-law or someone of his wife's [606] family.[36]

614 829 The feeling is marked among these people that all the Yumans have one sib system. That particular sibs of their own are not present in other tribes is a matter of no moment: that, they would say, is due to the fact that what we are here calling sibs are to them single lines of descent, and it is but natural that some lineages are not found in other tribes. What impresses them is that everywhere on the Colorado there are patrilineal lineages, within which the women alone are designated as pertaining to the lineage, and which function exogamously. They are conscious of a system; that details differ is immaterial.

The feeling for the system is very strong. They equate the patrilineal sibs of the Pima, or rather their moieties, with their own sibs, although the basis of Pima organization is different. All the local families derived from Pima paternal ancestors are reckoned in the sibs ɨipa' and l,ɛw'c. They object violently even today to 582 allowing their daughters to marry men of sibless tribes; the chil- 614 dren would have no sib affiliation. Naturally, it is quite permissible for men to do so. There are several cases in the present generation of women who have married Indians from California. No 611 attempt was made to assign these men to particular sibs, hence 614

[184] [a] The Yuma situation also differed from that of the Mohave. Yuma sibs had definite names; these served as women's names, but the women also had personal names which referred indirectly to the totems. The Yuma differed from the Maricopa-Halchidhoma in that the sib name regularly substituted for the personal name in later life (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 142–47, 149).

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their children are not placeable. The bastard origin of one woman can never be forgotten, since she belongs to no sib, her Indian father being unknown. I do not know how the matter came to be resolved in the case of several individuals known to be descendants of white men, but they have sib affiliation. On the other hand, all the known members of the Halchidhoma sib kwĭtk,ĭl,ᵃ are derived from a remote Walapai ancestor. They do not know how he came to be called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᵃ, but presume that the Walapai must have sibs, which is not the case.[37] They would be distinctly nonplussed if their women married men of a matrilineally organized tribe, such as the Apache or Southeastern Yavapai, but no such marriages have occurred, since these were mortal enemies. There is a recent instance, however; a marriage of a Maricopa girl to a Hopi man, now resident in nearby Phoenix. The girl's family, with whom I discussed the case, looked upon the placing of their two infants as an unsolvable problem.

Lists of sibs (cimu'l) of the several local tribes were obtained from several individuals. They were not always in agreement as to the tribal origin of particular sibs: the most probable ascription appears in the following list (Table IV). There may have been other sibs among the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai before they joined the Maricopa. But it is improbable: since the migration occurred only in the generation preceding that of my older informants, other sibs would have been remembered.

Some of the ascriptions are certain: Halchidhoma, kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᵃ; Kohuana, cĭnyikwĭ'ᵃ and xĭlyi'; Halyikwamai, tŏspa'ᵃ; Yuma, cŭkapa'ᵃ; Halchidhoma and Kohuana, cĭkama'; Kohuana and Halyikwamai, sala'l. It was thought probable that Halchidhoma kwŭc[a]ku' and l,amu'c were derived from the Kohuana. There is some doubt that the Halchidhoma originally had the sibs they share with the Maricopa, but the probability is high. Maricopa mavĭ'ᵃ is extinct or may never have existed as a sib. (It is one of the month names.) My informants had never heard of anyone locally with this sib affiliation, but one man knew it as a Yuma sib. Yuma cŭkapa'ᵃ and Pima l,ɔw'c and xipa', given in this list, refer to individuals of immediate Yuma and Pima descent.

Some of the Maricopa and Halchidhoma sib names were the same as the six month names. This, incidentally, makes it more certain that both peoples had the same sibs, as they seem to have

[37] There is a Mohave sib kutkilya with which he may have been affiliated (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 742).

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829 less names, three of them grouped in one moiety, two in the other. The moieties are called Vulture (buzzard), Red People, or Red Cow-Killer, and Coyote, White People, or White Cow-Killer.[42] My informants did not know why those of Pima ancestry were classed invariably as either xipa' or l,ew'c. They knew only that the part Pima of xipa' sib say that their sib refers to the coyote. The reason is, however, transparent: since Maricopa-Halchidhoma xipa' refers to the coyote, l,ew'c to the buzzard, the Pima married into the Maricopa community have been equated by their moiety affiliation with the local sib system.[43] (This raises the question, incidentally, whether the essential Pima unit is not the moiety rather than the sib.)

[609] [614] [563]

162 614 The relative numerical strength of the sibs, as checked from an allotment list of 1915, is as follows: xipa', 83; l,ew'c, 55; cîkâma', 21; xavâtca'c, 16; sala'l, 14; cînyikwî's, 12; kwîtk,î'l,[a], 12; xamitu'tc, 9; cŭkâpa's, 9; pakî't, 5; kwŭc[a]ku', 1; l,âmu'c, 1; tŏxpa's, 1; xîlyi', 1 (total 240). Kŭmâδi' and mavî's are extinct; the latter, at least, may never have existed. Since tŏxpa's and xîlyi' are repesented only by women, they too are about to be extinguished. My informant Last Star believes that xipa' and l,ew'c were the largest sibs in earlier times as they are today.

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614 [611] While all the members of a sib were regarded as in some sense related, it was recognized that there were several distinct lines of descent within it, between which blood relationship could not be established, or at least was not definitely known. Hence people of one's own sib, not relatives, were not called by kinship terms. The terms in use were "friend," kiyi' (used between men) and ciyi' (when one or both persons were women). So also a man might marry in his mother's sib anyone not related to her by blood. On the other hand, marriage to a non-relative of one's own sib was prohibited.

[601]

There seems to have been no preferred marriages between par-

[42] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 197; Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 455; Lloyd, pp. 147, 163; Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, p. 174.

[43] It is interesting to note that my informant remarked that "the Pima say tclk,î'vâ (man's cross-cousin) for cimu'l (sib)." Parsons found that the Pima referred to the moiety by the term that is used for cross-cousins (*op. cit.*, p. 456).

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ins follows from this, but only in part. True enough a father's brother's children and a woman's mother's sister's children are called brothers and sisters when the father and his brother or the mother and her sister are half-siblings by the same mother. But instead of calling these parallel cousins brother and sister as well when the parents are full brothers and sisters, they use special terms for them.

The reason for considering half-siblings as full siblings when derived from the same mother but not from the same father is inexplicable, especially in face of the marked patriliny prevailing otherwise in their social structure. Obviously, with different fathers these children may have belonged to different sibs, hence the blood-bond here overrides sib affiliation. Informants were wholly at a loss to find any correlated social function. It seems that it must be correlated in some way which I do not understand with the importance of the two mothers-in-law in determining the relation of their child's spouse to their own families, to the function of the mother-in-law in supplying a woman of her own family to the widower son-in-law, and to the attitude of considering women as essentially the carriers of patrilineal sib affiliations; but the clue to their interrelation is lacking. It might be thought to be based on a belief that a woman alone was concerned in conception, the man's part being secondary. But nothing of the sort developed in a long discussion of the relation of conception to dreams nor in the many other opportunities when it might have come out.

Sex, on the other hand, is not an important basis of classification. The speaker's sex does make a difference, to be sure, but rarely that of the kinsman addressed. It is partially ignored between brothers and sisters and with cousins of one's own generation. It is practically ignored in one's children's generation, and does not figure at all in the generation of grandchildren and greatgrandchildren.

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[171] River tribes reckon half-siblings as full siblings when the bond is through the mother, but we are not told so. Similarly it may be that this blood bond figures in the classification of parallel cousins, as it does in Maricopa, but these authorities are also silent on this point.